346 garden of greater or smaller size with a pond in the middle at which Moslem visitors to the mosque make their prescribed ablutions before the prayers, if they have not already done so at home. These mosque courtyards form a favorite meeting place for all the residents whose only task in life consists in an unbroken delightful idleness, but who consider it beneath their dignity to loiter about with the younger men
793 at the bazaar and in the tea shops. At every mosque there is an 'imam' or permanent leader of prayers, with an assistant, who bears the title of 'sufi,' as well as a caller, endowed with a powerful voice, who must announce from the minaret of the mosque (Figure 74) the time of the morning and evening prayers and at the same time the curfew hour for the public houses. None of these ordinarily receives any regular salary. Instead, voluntary gifts are received, at the time of the high festivals from the vistors of the mosque in question, and at harvest time they are given a specified part of the fruit of the earth.

788 During the group prayers, inside the mosque as well as outside, the participants arrange themselves in rank and file like a detachment of soldiers, while the prayer leader (imam) is at the front in order to be visible to everyone. During the prayer people stand and kneel in rapid succession /205/ and touch the ground with the forehead from time to time: all these movements, to which are added various manipulations of the hands, are made first by the prayer leader and then imitated by the entire group, as though by command. This makes an extremely comical impression upon the non-participants, for the whole thing resembles an exercise in callisthenics more than a religious act, the more so since it all proceeds in deathly silence, for
[562] the prayers are not spoken aloud. Women may not participate in such common prayers nor visit the mosques. /Figure 74, p. 43a. Caption: The Minaret of Madamin Hodja in Khiva./

785 The Moslem fasts, which last all through the month of Ramadan, and are designated as 'urza', are completely different from the Christian fasts. They do not consist in abstinence from meat nor of moderation in eating, but instead in the prohibition of food or drink from sunrise to sundown, including even a drink of water. The Moslems are so strict in this connection that they do not even permit themselves to bathe fro some water could get into the body unintentionally through the nose or the ears. It can be easily seen that the observance of such strict fasts, especially during the burning heat of Turkestan, is no trivial thing. But scarcely has the sun set and the evening prayer is finished, before a solemn banquet begins with singing and dancing, a

785 sort of compensation for the abstinence endured all through the day. /206/ and this feast sometimes lasts until morning, during which gluttony is as great as is humanly possible. When traveling, these Moslem fasts often drove me nearly to despair. During the days, the men could not be used for anything as a result of lack of sleep, and of hunger and thirst, and at night when one was exausted from the exertions of traveling there was not a moment of peace for all night long the shouting and howling and the noise of drums and all possible musical instruments never ceased. And people regard such unhealthy fasts, alternated with orgies night after night, as deeds pleasing to God.

778 As regards superstition, the Central Asian Moslems are second to no 776 other religious body. The tombs and the alleged clothing and relics of their countless saints, whose claim to this rank is usually very questionable, play a great role among them. In Central Asia there are many apocryphal tombs of saints, as for example, the tombs of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, in Mazar -i-Sharif and in Shakh-i-Mardan. There is also the monument to Alexander the Great in Margelan, the tomb of Daniel in Samarkand, and many others. We know from history that Alexander always aspired to the honor of being nominated to the ranks of the gods during his lifetime, although his ambition was never realized; instead of this, he was subsequently granted an honor on which he had not reckoned, namely, to be 777 venerated after two thousand years as a Moslem saint and as a prop- [755] agator of Islam in Central Asia. The Moslems of Turkestan have an unshakable faith in the healing powers of relics and amulets. Chips from the tombstone (1) are regarded as an infallible means against

> 1. This tombstone is chiselled from a single block of dark green nephrite, and is of incalculable value. The stone has been cut in half in the middle by an unknown hand, and superstitious Moslems and Russian collecters have broken off pieces from this broken place, as can be seen in Figure 75.

all internal illnesses, which has resulted in an extensive trade in fake particles from the tomb of Tamerlane. How Tamerlane came to have the odor of sanctity is somewhat difficult for Westerners to understand. An equally lucrative trade is carried on by the mullahs with amulets which they have made themselves, and which ostensibly contain miraculous prayer formulas and charms. Their content, however, is often similiar to the

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RLl Turkestan RLl

798 Latin in the late 1920's, and again from Latin to Cyrillic ten years later),
212 the impounding of religious texts, including the Qur'an, and the total cessation of all publication of a religious nature. These antireligious policies would of themselves make an active religious life most difficult.

795 The interviews, however, indicate that equally important in hampering
735 the religious life of Central Asian Islam are forces not directly connected
177 with the Communist antireligious policies, such as the general impoverishment of the population, which compels the inhabitants to devote all their time and energies to attain bare survival, and leaves little freedom for time-consuming actions required by religion; the shortage of animals used in certain Muslim festivals; and the requirements of a highly dynamic society, geared primarily for production and not for the satisfaction of
[793] the needs of its citizens. If, despite such formidable difficulties, Islamic practices have not altogether vanished from Central Asia, the reason must be sought both in the great hold which this religion exercises on its followers (Bartold had once observed that history knows many cases of mass conversion *to* Islam, but not a single instance of a society being converted *from* Islam), and the secondary role of leaders and institutions in that religion; the latter factor permits Muslims, like the Jews, to survive better under extreme oppression than other religions for which the clergy, the hierarchy, the supreme spiritual authority are essential.

788 One of the most important — perhaps the single most important — ele-
177 ment in the Muslim ritual are the five daily prayers. This practice seems
[687] to have declined among Soviet Muslims to such an extent as to have all but vanished. The principal cause for its disappearance is the inability of Soviet Muslims to take time off from work in order to recite the prayers; such stoppage of work is considered "economic sabotage" and involves serious retribution. The fact that since the 1930's Friday — the day of rest and public prayer — is considered a regular working day in Central Asia prevents the adult population from engaging in communal worship as well. The only times of the day when a Muslim may perform his prayers undisturbed occur at sunrise and at sunset — the first and the last of the daily prayers; that is, when he is at home, with his family. This is the reason why, to the extent that the daily prayer is observed at all, it survives largely among that part of the population which is not gainfully employed: above all, the women and the elders.

788 The younger generation is further handicapped by its ignorance of the
869 prayers. Only a few of the refugees interviewed knew how to perform the
177 regular daily prayers; none of those belonged to the younger generation. It may also be added that not one of these refugees had cared to learn the prayers since his arrival in the West.

•785 Another important duty of Muslims is to observe daytime fasting during the entire 28 days of the month of Ramazan. Prior to 1917 the fast was

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RLI Turkestan RLI

faithfully observed by the Turkestan natives; those of the steppe region were less strict, prevented as they were by the exigencies of nomadic and seminomadic life. During Ramazan, Muslim communities in Central Asia customarily reversed their routine, resting daytimes, eating and entertaining at night. Shortly after the end of the fast there occurs a major holiday, *kurban bayram* (feast of sacrifice), attended by the slaughter of sheep and by festivities.

The difficulties of observing the Ramazan fast in the Soviet Union are obvious at first sight. To eliminate or even reduce daytime work for a period of a month is possible only for a people economically independent; it is inconceivable in a society in which virtually every breadwinner is an employee of the state, and the state drives relentlessly to increase production. Furthermore, a worker who fasts all day is, even when compelled to do a full day's work, a poor worker. As a result, the Ramazan fast is severely repressed by the authorities and can survive only in a greatly modified form.

Several of the refugees recalled instances of Communist Party officials subjecting Muslims suspected of fasting to "tests." Thus, for example, many Muslim employees of state institutions were called in for conferences with their superiors sometime during the month of Ramazan and there offered a drink or a cigarette; refusal to accept the offer was tantamount to an admission of fasting and could lead to expulsion from work. Similar "tests" were recalled by schoolteachers — during Ramazan teams of officials from neighboring towns often visited schools and checked on both the teachers and the students.

Nevertheless, the observance of the fast, although severely restricted, appears to have partly survived. Some Muslims, unable to fast for 28 consecutive days, compromise by abstaining for three days only: the 1st, 15th, and last days of Ramazan. Others, compelled to eat in order to have strength for work and to avoid the suspicion of authorities, eat and drink as little as possible. It is quite likely — although there is no direct evidence — that the fast may be observed more regularly among those who are not gainfully employed.

The *kurban bayram*, despite its originally religious significance, appears to have suffered the fate of most religious festivities in societies which are secularized or on their way to becoming so: the religious element has largely been forgotten, and the holiday has acquired a predominantly secular, national character. This, in part, may be one of the reasons for its survival. Almost all the informants agreed that the *kurban bayram* was widely observed at least until the outbreak of the war, even by members of the Communist Party. The main difficulty in observing this holiday is the shortage of sheep, which are essential for the ceremony. Not only are almost all the sheep in the hands of the *kolkhozy* (collective farms) and